

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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O R 071252Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8940  
INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 2331

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: XF, RO, IS, CH, KN, UR, OVIP (CEAUSESCU, NICOLAE)  
SUBJ: MIDDLE EAST: ISRAELI AMBASSADOR ON CEAUSESCU-  
DAYAN MEETING  
REFS: (A) BUCHAREST 2288, (B) BUCHAREST 2251

1. HIGHLIGHTS OF ISRAELI AMBASSADOR'S APRIL 7 DEBRIEFING  
ON CEAUSESCU APPROACH IN MEETINGS WITH DAYAN APRIL 3-4;  
-- ARAFAT WILL ARRIVE IN BUCHAREST "VERY SOON," BUT  
CEAUSESCU STEPPED BACK FAST AND FAR FROM PLO AFTER STRONG  
DAYAN PRESENTATION;  
-- NEXT STEP SHOULD BE RAPID CONCLUSION OF DECLARA-  
TION OF PRINCIPLES BY EGYPT AND ISRAEL, AND GOR SEES NO  
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN "RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION" AND  
"RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN DETERMINATION OF FUTURE" IN  
LANGUAGE OF AMERICAN-ISRAELI PAPER;  
--CEAUSESCU ENCOURAGED ISRAELIS TO MAKE "SELF-RULE"  
FORMULA "MORE ATTRACTIVE" TO ARABS BY PROVIDING FOR PARTI-  
CIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DOMESTIC POLICY,  
AND DAYAN LISTENED CAREFULLY;  
-- AFTER DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, NEXT STEP SHOULD  
BE PARALLEL EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI TALKS AND MEETING "AT GENEVA  
OR IN ANY OTHER FORUM" OF ALL INTERESTED PARTIES; SYRIA, JORDAN,  
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USSR (AND PLO) ARE READY;  
-- RE PARALLEL LARGE MEETING, CHINA AND NORTH KOREA  
ALSO SUPPORT SADAT INITIATIVE, AND SITUATION HAS EVOLVED  
TO POINT WHERE SMALL AND MEDIUM COUNTRIES OUTSIDE AREA, AND  
POWERS BESIDES U.S. AND USSR, HAVE VITAL INTEREST IN ME  
SOLUTIONS.  
ISRAELIS PROFESS REAL SATISFACTION WITH VISIT, AND

WE SUSPECT CEAUSESCU WILL ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON WITH PROPOSAL FOR PARALLEL "INTERESTED PARTY" MEETING INCLUDING CHINA AND NORTH KOREA AS WELL AS STANDARD LIST, AND SUGGESTION HE SOUND CHINESE AND NORTH KOREANS DURING MAY VISIT IF U.S. SEES ANY FUTURE FOR IDEA. END SUMMARY.

2. IN CHARGE'S APRIL 7 CALL, ISRAELI AMBASSADOR ABA GEFAN PROVIDED FOLLOWING READOUT ON SIX HOURS OF CEAUSESCU-DAYAN TALKS APRIL 3-4, WHICH HE ATTENDED.

3. ATMOSPHERE WAS EXTREMELY FRIENDLY AND CORDIAL, GEFAN SAID, AND SCINTEIA (REF A) ACCURATELY REPORTED DAYAN'S REMARKS TO PREDEPARTURE BILATERAL PRESS CONFERENCE, ALTHOUGH IT OF COURSE LEFT OUT SOME OF DAYAN'S EXPLANATIONS FOR ADMITTED DIFFERENCES OF VIEW.

4. CEAUSESCU BEGAN WITH SOUTH LEBANON SITUATION, PRESSING FOR IMMEDIATE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL, AND SEEMED SURPRISED AND PLEASED WITH DAYAN'S REJOINDER THAT ISRAELIS ARE READY TO WITHDRAW IMMEDIATELY UN FORCES ARE IN PLACE, SO LONG AS SECURE ARRANGEMENTS ARE MADE FOR NON-RETURN OF PALESTINIANS. HE ASKED WHETHER ISRAELIS WOULD WITHDRAW DISTRICT BY DISTRICT OR ONLY WHEN UN FORCES ARE IN PLACE THROUGH WHOLE AREA, AND WAS EVEN MORE SATISFIED WHEN DAYAN SAID DISTRICT BY DISTRICT. HE ALSO ASKED WHY ISRAELI DID NOT DEAL DIRECTLY WITH LEBANESE AUTHORITIES, INSTEAD  
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OF UN, AND SEEMED GENUINELY SURPRISED (GEFAN SUSPECTED HE HAD POOR INFORMATION ABOUT LEBANESE CONDITIONS) WHEN DAYAN EXPLAINED THAT LEBANESE SOVEREIGNTY DOES NOT EXIST IN OCCUPIED AREA AND THAT ISRAELI ACTION MAY EVEN HELP ESTABLISH IT THERE. IN CONCLUSION, HE EXPRESSED WHAT GEFAN DESCRIBED AS "COMPLETE UNDERSTANDING" FOR ISRAELI POSITION, WITH SINGLE CAVEAT THAT ROMANIA COULD OF COURSE NEVER AGREE IN PRINCIPLE TO TROOPS CROSSING BORDER OF A SOVEREIGN STATE BECAUSE OF ITS OWN SITUATION. GEFAN SAID HE HAD BEEN IN CONSTANT CONTACT WITH MFA IN FIRST DAYS OF ISRAELI INCURSION, AND CEAUSESCU'S APPROACH REPRESENTED SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE IN ROMANIAN POSITION.

5. TURNING TO PEACE PROCESS, CEAUSESCU EXPRESSED CONTINUING STRONG SUPPORT FOR EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI TALKS, WITH STRESS ON NEED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF SADAT INITIATIVE TO PREVENT SADAT FROM "FAILING." TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM, HOWEVER, GOR THINKS IT NECESSARY TO SUPPORT TALKS BY CONVENING PARALLEL MEETING OF ALL INTERESTED PARTIES, "AT GENEVA OR IN ANY OTHER FORUM." GOR HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH INTERESTED PARTIES--HE NAMED SYRIA, KING HUSSEIN AND ARAFAT--AND KNOWS THAT THEY ARE ALL, INCLUD-

ING USSR, READY TO ATTEND. SYRIA WANTS INTO NEGOTIATING  
PROCESS, AND IF IT COMES IN, JORDAN WILL TOO.

6. GEFAN NOTED PLO HAD COME UP IN THIS SPECIFIC CONTEXT,  
AND MENTION LAUNCHED HOUR-LONG DISCUSSION. IN COURSE OF  
HOUR, CEAUSESCU NOTED ARAFAT WOULD BE IN BUCHAREST  
"VERY SOON" (SEE REF B; GEFAN'S ASSUMPTION IS THAT  
CEAUSESCU MEANT BEFORE HE HIMSELF LEFT FOR U.S.), BUT MAIN  
POINT WAS EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON NATURE OF PLO AND PLACE  
IN NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

7. CEAUSESCU'S ARGUMENTS WERE THAT PLO IS COALITION  
PRESENTLY DOMINATED BY MODERATES, WHO INCLUDE ARAFAT,  
AND HAD TO BE INCLUDED IN NEGOTIATION IF SETTLEMENT  
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WERE TO BE STABLE. ROMANIANS SEE A ROLE FOR WEST BANK  
AND GAZA PALESTINIANS, HE TOLD DAYAN, BUT IT WILL NOT  
BE ADEQUATE TO ASSURE STABILITY OF SETTLEMENT, WHEREAS  
SETTLEMENT NEGOTIATED WITH PLO AS WELL AS OTHER PALESTINIANS  
WOULD STICK.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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O R 071252Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8941  
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AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUCHAREST 2331  
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8. ACCORDING TO GEFEN, CEAUSESCU TOLD DAYAN ROMANIANS  
KNOW SOVIETS AND AMERICANS ARE IN AGREEMENT THAT AT SOME POINT  
PLO MUST BE BROUGHT INTO NEGOTIATING PROCESS, ALTHOUGH OF  
COURSE AGREEMENT IS NOT PUBLICIZED OUT OF RESPECT FOR ISRAELI  
SENSITIVITIES. THEY HAD HEARD OF THIS "FOR FOUR YEARS NOW."

9. GEFEN SAID DAYAN RESPONDED STRONGLY, MAKING THREE MAIN POINTS:

--RE ALLEGED U.S.-SOVIET AGREEMENT, HE SAID IT WAS THE FIRST TIME IN HIS LIFE HE HAD HEARD OF SUCH A THING, AND HE DID NOT BELIEVE IT. UNITED STATES IS NOT AN UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION, BUT UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND ISRAEL HAS ITS COMMITMENT IN WRITING TO CONTRARY.

--RE WILLINGNESS OF ALL ARABS TO PARTICIPATE IN MEETING EN-VISAGED BY CEAUSESCU, SADAT IS NOT INSISTING ON PLO PARTICIPATION IN NEGOTIATING PROCESS, SO THAT EGYPT, AT LEAST, IS NOT YET SPOKEN FOR.

--RE PLO ITSELF, DAYAN MADE CALM BUT EXTREMELY FORCEFUL STATEMENT OF ISRAELI POSITION, BEGINNING WITH THEORY--PALESTINIAN COVENANT COMMITMENT TO DESTRUCTION OF STATE OF ISRAEL, WHICH PREVENTS ISRAELIS FROM NEGOTIATING WITH THEM--AND PROCEEDING TO DESCRIPTION OF WHAT PLO IS, RANGING FROM MUNICH TO HAIFA-TEL AVIV ROAD. FOR ISRAEL, DAYAN CONCLUDED, NEGOTIATING WITH PLO IS LIKE NEGOTIATING WITH NAZIS: THEY ARE CRIMINALS WHO BELONG IN JAIL RATHER THAN AT NEGOTIATING TABLE, AND ISRAEL  
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WILL NEVER SIT DOWN WITH THEM.

10. LAST POINT SEEMED TO MAKE STRONG IMPRESSION ON CEAUSESCU, GEFEN SAID, ALTHOUGH HE REMAINED CALM, AND HE DID NOT MENTION PLO AGAIN FOR REMAINDER OF TALKS.

11. RE NEXT STEPS IN PEACE PROCESS, CEAUSESCU ARGUED THAT FIRST NECESSARY STEP IS EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI AGREEMENT ON DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, AND THAT PRESENT SQUABBLE OVER WORDING IS MEANINGLESS AND SHOULD BE QUICKLY RESOLVED. EVEN AGREEMENT TO SELF-DETERMINATION INCLUDING RIGHT TO STATE DOES NOT MEAN STATE WILL ACTUALLY BE ESTABLISHED. DAYAN DISAGREED, NOTING ISRAEL SAW SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN "RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION" AND "RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN DETERMINATION OF ITS OWN FUTURE" WHICH FIGURES IN AMERICAN-ISRAELI PAPER. IN RESPONSE, CEAUSESCU INSISTED STRONGLY THAT FROM GOR POINT OF VIEW THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TWO FORMULATIONS. HE NEVER ONCE MENTIONED "LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF PALESTINIANS TO SELF-DETERMINATION, INCLUDING OWN STATE," AND GEFEN SAID HE HIMSELF WAS SURE AT THAT POINT THAT IT WOULD NOT FIGURE IN COMMUNIQUE, WHICH IN FACT REFERS ONLY TO "LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS."

12. EVEN MORE SUPRISINGLY FOR ISRAELIS, GEFEN SAID, CEAUSESCU URGED THEM TO MAKE "SELF-RULE" PROPOSAL "MORE ATTRACTIVE" TO ARABS. "FOR INSTANCE," HE SUGGESTED, THERE MIGHT BE PROVISIONS FOR PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF ISRAEL, AND FOR VOICE IN FORMULATION OOF ISRAELI DOMESTIC POLICY. GEFEN SAID DAYAN LISTENED CAREFULLY TO THESE EXTRAORDINARY

SUGGESTIONS, WHICH SEEM TO ISRAELIS TO IMPLY THAT SPECTRUM OF POSSIBILITIES CEAUSESCU CONSIDERS LEGITIMATE NOW RUNS FROM BEEFED-UP "SELF-RULE" FORMULA ALL THE WAY TO "LEGITIMATE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION INCLUDING SOVEREIGN STATE," WHICH CEAUSESCU DID NOT MENTION BUT WHICH MUST REMAIN ON CONFIDENTIAL

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TABLE AS FAR AS ROMANIANS ARE CONCERNED.

13. FINAL SURPRISING POINT, GEFEN SAID, CAME IN CEAUSESCU'S REMARKS ON WHO SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN MEETING OF "ALL INTERESTED PARTIES" DESIGNED TO COMPLEMENT AND PROVIDE FRAMEWORK FOR CONTINUING EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI TALKS. AFTER RUNNING THROUGH STANDARD SET OF "INTERESTED PARTIES," CEAUSESCU WENT ON TO NOTE THAT ROMANIA IS NOT ONLY COMMUNIST COUNTRY WHICH SUPPORTS SADAT INITIATIVE AND EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI DIRECT TALKS: CHINA AND RPT AND NORTH KOREA DO TOO. FURTHER, WORLD SITUATION HAS EVOLVED TO POINT WHERE MANY MEDIUM AND SMALL COUNTRIES HAVE VITAL INTEREST IN MIDDLE EAST DEVELOPMENTS. AND, CLEARLY, SITUATION HAS GONE BEYOND STATE WHERE U.S. AND USSR ARE ONLY GREAT POWERS VITALLY INTERESTED IN SOLUTIONS.

14. BEYOND FRANKNESS AND FRIENDLINESS OF TALKS, GEFEN SAID ISRAELIS FOUND CAUSE FOR SATISFACTION IN:  
--ROMANIAN UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR APPROACH TO SOUTH LEBANON;  
--STEP-BACK FROM PLO FOLLOWING DAYAN'S REPLY (SINCE CEAUSESCU HAD GIVEN ONLY TAILEND TREATMENT TO PLO IN RECENT OPPOSITION PARTY VISITS TO BUCHAREST, GEFEN SUSPECTS MORE EXTENSIVE TREATMENT WITH DAYAN WAS MAINLY DESIGNED TO DRAW POISON FROM UPCOMING ARAFAT VISIT FOR ISRAELIS);  
--STEP-BACK FROM "RIGHTS" TO "ASPIRATIONS" IN COMMUNIQUE;  
--APPARENT SPREAD IN OPTIONS CONSIDERED LEGITIMATE BY GOR TO INCLUDE REINFORCED "SELF-RULE" FORMULA; AND  
--AGERPRESS REPORT IN APRIL 7 ROMANIAN CENTRAL PRESS ON ATHERTON'S ATLANTA SPEECH, WHICH MENTIONS "PARTICIPATION IN DETERMINATION OF OWN FUTURE" FORMULA (IN UNMENTIONED AMERICAN-ISRAELI PAPER).

15. COMMENT. WITH APPROPRIATE CAVEAT THAT INTRICACIES AND SOMETIMES EVEN BIG PICTURE OF MIDDLE EAST DEVELOPMENTS ARE BEYOND OUR KEN, REPORT SUGGESTS STRONGLY THAT CEAUSESCU MAY ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON WITH PROPOSAL NOT JUST FOR MEETING "AT GENEVA OR IN ANY OTHER FORUM" DESIGNED TO PARALLEL AND SUPPORT CONFIDENTIAL

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CONTINUED EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI TALKS, BUT FOR ONE WHICH WOULD

INCLUDE CHINESE AND NORTH KOREANS IN ADDITION TO U.S., SOVIETS  
AND LOCAL "INTERESTED PARTIES:" AND WITH SUGGESTION THAT HE  
WOULD BE WILLING TO SOUND PRC AND DPRK DURING MID-MAY VISIT  
IF U.S. SEES ANY FUTURE FOR IDEA.  
SIMONS

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## Message Attributes

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